The Philippines Air Lines (PAL),[85] the largest domestic operator, carries between 240,000 and 300,000 passengers per year in its domestic service.[60] Interisland vessels stop daily at Dumaguete where ocean-going ships also load copra. Bais and San Carlos have facilities for ocean liners. The most important port in Negros Occidental is Pulupandan where the ships plying between Manila and Iloilo usually dock. Ocean-going steamers call at Pulupandan and Escalante to load sugar. Sailboats carry goods and passengers between Manapla and Ajuy, Iloilo.[61] Foreign vessels load lumber from Fabrica at Sagay and medium-size interisland steamers dock at Banago pier in Bacolod.[62]

The roads of Negros are vital arteries of cultural change. In Negros, Dumaguete and Bacolod are the major mobilization centers of western culture. In these cities are concentrated the hospitals, high schools and universities, the magic of the cinema, magazine and book shops, stores crowded with merchandise unavailable in rural areas. South of Dumaguete in 1951 there was only one physician and no dentist. In the provincial capital barriofolk may see new automobiles, and crews from French or Norwegian ships, listen

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[60] Spencer, op. cit., p.254.

[61] Carlos L. Locsin and Filomeno T. Tabayoyong, Soils of the Victorias Milling District: A Handbook for the Planters of the District. Bacolod, Negros, Nalco Press, 1953, p.14.

[62] Alicante and others, op. cit., p.12.

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to the latest news on the radio or jukebox records, visit the United States Information Services library where free pictures are shown, hear the newest political rumors, or visit their children who have begun a new life with electricity, flush toilets and monthly salaries. The closer to Dumaguete, the better are a child's chances of longer life and a more adequate education. Children in the vicinity of the capital cities, for example, have no problem of paying for room and board while they attend high school.

One major problem in the Philippines is to extend beyond these few urban centers the nation's medical facilities, educational opportunities, and mass communication media which normally are not available to barriofolk. As one leaves Dumaguete and travels toward Caticugan, high school education and the basic medicines of the drugstore become more remote, electricity and medical services disappear, newspapers and magazines become rarer, and different outlooks and desires widen the gap between the barriofolk and their urban cousins. This limited spread of Twentieth-century technology and attitudes decreases arithmetical for the barrios along the National Road from Dumaguete to Siaton. The diminution is geometrical as one goes north of the National Road toward the barrios in the Siaton River valley. New roads open new land and new cultural horizons.

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proper by the muddy Caticugan Creek. This is a rocky sandy area where the Siaton River once flowed.

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Walking through the community one speculates that few visible changes have occurred during the past several centuries. The houses are basically the same, bamboo and nipa and rattan. The wooden plow that lies in the field must have been similar to that used by the owner's great-grandparents. Many pigs still feed from hollow stone troughs. Spears and blow-guns are found in some houses and ancient rites precede a wild pig hunt. Yet the modest chapel with its tire rim "bell" and the houses with family altars of plaster saints betoken the Catholic Spaniards. The old bow and arrow, used to shoot fish in the river, have been modified, for boys now hunt their prey with arrows of steel umbrella rib, propelled by strips of inner tubing. The barrio and elementary schools with coeducational facilities and stress on "integration" bespeak American influence. As one talks with the people and studies their way of life, the pre-Hispanic cultural base emerges: beliefs in unseen sprites of shaded spring and wooded hill, in blonde-haired dwarfs that race happily in the drainage canals, in the placating of departed souls with food offerings and various modified pagan agricultural rites. The very language reflects Hindu contacts. The wooden handles

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The first piratical Moro expedition on the Visayas and Negros occurred in 1599. The background of this attack was the abandonment of the Spanish garrison at La Caldera, Mindanao, due to lack of supplies and finances. When the Joloan Moros (See Plate I)[1] saw the Spaniards abandoning the fort they believed they would never return to Mindanao because they lacked sufficient forces. In July, 1599, more than 50 boats and 3,000 Joloans set sail for the Visayas where they raided Negros, Panay, and Cebu, burning, sacking, and carrying off captives to be sold as slaves.[28] In western Negros the Joloans sacked Ilog and Binalbagan, burning the convents and the churches.[29] Old stone towers which were used to watch for Moro raids can still be seen in Negros. The tower in Dumaguete (said to be built in 1811) is well-preserved and there are remnants of stone embankments at Manyujod.

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Moro raids continued for nearly 300 years, retarding Negros' development. Saleeby states:

> This daring attack of the Mindanaos [in 1599] worked great injury to the Pintado Islands, both on account of their deeds there and also on account of the fear and terror with which they inspired the natives; because of the latter being in the power of the Spaniards, who kept them subject, tributary, and disarmed, and neither protected them from their enemies, nor left them the

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[28] Antonio de Morga, "Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas" (Events in the Filipinas Islands). Mexico, 1609. Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XVI, pp. 192-3.

[29] Marco, op. cit., pp. 30-1.

1 [See p. 26, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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> means to defend themselves, as they used to do when there were no Spaniards in the country. Therefore many towns of peaceful and subjected Indians revolted and withdrew to the tingues [mountains], and refused to descend to their houses, magistrates, and encomenderos...[30]

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Christianity seems to have made many Visayans more passive, for prior to the arrival of the Spaniards they were known as brave warriors. Mirandola states that the people of Cebu, for example, were "very warlike and vicious." Christianity also made the Visayans the bitter enemies of the Moros, who in turn regarded them as the children of the Spaniards who sacked towns in Mindanao and Sulu and sold Moro slaves in Manila. The history of Siaton reflects the fear and terror these Moro raids held for the early settlers of southern Negros.

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Negros remained a relatively unknown and undeveloped island until the middle of the 19th century. Varona states that in the middle of the 16th century many Spanish writers were so badly informed that they thought Negros was inhabited solely by Negritos. A study of the sources in Blair and Robertson yields a meager number of references to Negros and even fewer detailed accounts. Negros during these centuries was overshadowed by Cebu and Panay. It was not until the development of the sugar industry, destined to make the island the "Sugar Bowl of the Philippines," that Negros' development and population began a rapid increase.

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[30] Najeeb M. Saleeby, The History of Sulu. Bureau of Science, Division of Ethnology, IV, Part 2. Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1908, p. 281.

Indian and Arabic concepts were reinterpreted by their bearers, in most cases, before the customs reached the Filipinos. The last two alien cultures to leave their imprint on the Filipinos were Spanish and American, often termed the western Christian strata. 177

Pre-Hispanic traditions and customs are still visible in Caticugan. Contacts with Negros' Negritos appear to have stopped in Siaton during the first part of the 20th century. Few people in Caticugan had ever seen a Negrito. Evidence of a slight Negrito imprint on the barriofolk's way of life exists, however, in the latter's agricultural rites, use of certain plants, and folklore. Yet the barriofolk of Caticugan took very little from the Negritos that remains today; the cultural interchange probably was in the opposite direction, from Filipinos to Negritos, as was typical in most of the Philippines. 174

Drastic reinterpretations of the pre-Hispanic Malaysian cultural base have occurred in Caticugan. However, animism is still a vital force in the community, perpetuating a major Filipino religious concept prior to the Spaniard's arrival. The resistance of the Malaysian stratum to Mohammedanism, Catholicism and Protestanism is remarkable. Few aspects of <u>barrio</u> life escape the influence of animism--hunting and gathering activities, fishing, agricultural practices, attitudes toward disease, and the concept of nature itself. Imitative magic, another Malaysian trait that spread as far west as Madagascar, also exists in Caticugan. 174 774 178 789

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loto and the dulot are to offer a thanksgiving for a good harvest (or a better one next year), to honor and placate departed souls and the unseen spirits, and to accomplish magical multiplication of the grain. While there are certain minor differences between the loto and the dulot, the food offerings are almost identical. The dulot most likely is a variation of the rice loto that was transferred to the harvests of caingin and lowland corn after the latter grain was introduced to the Philippines by the Spaniards in the 16th century. Oracion's account of the rice harvest ceremony of the primitive Magahats corresponds closely to the loto and dulot of Siaton.

However, the ceremony for the harvest of lowland rice in Caticugan and neighboring barrios is quite different from either the loto or dulot. Most likely the stronger influence of Catholicism, better educational opportunities, and more frequent contacts with the principalia of the poblacion, are probable factors that have led the lowland barriofolk to modify the paganistic harvest ceremonies of their forefathers. The lowland rice loto in Caticugan has been changed into a basically Christian ceremony while the corn harvest dulot is quite different from the dulot practiced in the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley. A special investigation was made of variations of the dulot that illustrate the processes of change as they are occurring in the Siaton River valley. This material is presented later in this chapter.

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Corn planting in the paddies overlaps the preparation of non-irrigated corn fields for the first crop. The preparation of the latter type of fields in Barrio Caticugan, between the rice-corn division and the main path, is done later than in neighboring barrios. Soils are quite clayey and the fields cannot be plowed until the ground has been thoroughly soaked. In the sandy loam fields of Talo-ot and Datag, however, this difficulty is not encountered.

Non-irrigated corn fields are prepared like paddies planted with corn with two exceptions: (1) the corn fields are not irrigated and (2) rarely harrowed. Some farmers reported weedy non-irrigated fields were harrowed but this was not observed; the paddies are harrowed only to remove the rice stubble. The methods of plowing and planting, and the lihis are the same for the non-irrigated fields as for the paddies planted with corn.

THE DULOT

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Chapter I stated a special study was made to gather comparative data on certain aspects of culture change among the people living in the Siaton River valley. After the first exploratory trip to Apoloy I became interested in the variations of the dulot as practiced in these barrios and Caticugan. The dulot, a pre-harvest corn ceremony, embraces some of the more basic concepts of the barriofolk. The study of the dulot also samples culture change in the Siaton River valley and, in particular,

Caticugan. This section will first describe the dulot and then explain the distribution and variations of the ceremony in the different barrios in comparison with Caticugan.

The dulot is held before the corn is harvested in either caingins or lowland fields. There appear to be three major purposes for holding the dulot. First, it is an act of recognition of unseen spirits who, if not properly honored, can make the cultivators ill. Second, the dulot is an act of respect and honor to the kalags (souls) of previous owners of the field. Since land is seldom sold in the lowlands these souls normally are the parents of the cultivators.[44] The dulot is "like rent for the land" or a "payment" to the souls of former owners. A widespread belief is that these souls, if angered, can make the field workers sick; fever and stomach troubles are the most frequent afflictions caused by the angry spirits or unhonored souls. Third, the dulot is a premicias sa baul ("Thanksgiving for the field," i.e., for the harvest) to God.

The dulot is an obvious blend of paganism and Catholicism. Animism and reverence for the souls of the dead are pre-Spanish beliefs. Catholicism certainly reinforced the honoring of the dead; this may have been one reason why Catholicism was disseminated so easily in the

[44] In the caingins the offering is made to the souls of one's departed parents.

Philippines. The concept of gratitude to God for an abundant harvest is a Catholic addition, even though this gratitude is also tendered to the spirits. 243 178

Cases of illness and a few deaths allegedly caused by these spirits or souls because a dulot was not held were reported. One incident affords an example. A resident of Barrio Caticugan became so ill he was unable to eat or sleep for three nights. This sickness occurred the day after a drinking bout in another barrio. Friends first brought him a wine called "Siok Pong," sold in the poblacion Chinese stores, and said to have medicinal qualities. Sick man could not drink the wine and his illness became worse. 243 753 [757]

He tried to think what could be causing his sickness; his heavy drinking ~~was not~~ considered as a possible factor. Finally, a mananabal (local herbalist, often called "quack doctor" in the poblacion) was called to question the patient. It was finally decided that his illness was due to failure to hold a dulot before harvesting his corn. An ancillary cause was thought the jokes he had told near a swampy place, unintentionally antagonizing the spirits that inhabited this locality.

The sick man contended it was unnecessary for him to hold a dulot for he was only a tenant; the dulot was the responsibility of the field's owner. The mananabal said this was not correct, the dulot was the responsibility of the person working the field, even if he were only the tenant. The patient promised to hold a dulot and it is reported his condition improved immediately. 243 755

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The group performed this ceremony with much amusement. Then all the guests were served a meal, including food prepared for the dulot offering.

More visitors came later, although not as many as were expected. Pas said this was because six other dulots were being held in Lamtoc the same night! The visitors were given kinalopis to take home; the man who conducted the dulot received an additional gift of food.

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The spatial distribution of the dulot in Caticugan is quite interesting. The dulot is practiced in Talo-ot, by most of the people who cultivate fields west of the main canal in Barrio Caticugan, and in lower Naga. People living east of the main canal in Barrio Caticugan and in upper Naga generally do not hold a dulot before harvesting corn. While the distribution of the dulot in the upper Siaton River valley is not known in detail, it is far more widely practiced in these barrios than in Caticugan. Lamtoc is a small sitio yet in one night six different families were holding a dulot. This attempt to delimit the dulot areas in Caticugan is only approximate. One woman living in Talo-ot cultivated as a tenant, a field between the main path and Caticugan creek; she held a dulot.

It is difficult to determine why the dulot is not held in upper Naga. Many factors are involved. First, there are only a few fields in this area. Second, more people are giving up the dulot in Caticugan than in the more remote barrios fact to be discussed later. Third,

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it is said if a field abandoned because of overflow of the Siaton River were later reclaimed, it was not necessary to resume the dulot even though "the field was once accustomed to it." This is the attitude of most barriofolk living in the Siaton River valley. Some of the fields in upper Naga are especially vulnerable to floods from the Mantuyop River since the bed is only five to ten feet below the level of the fields. Large boulders and other debris are deposited on the fields when the river floods, so reclaiming the land is difficult. Presumably when the fields were reclaimed the dulot was not resumed.[47]

It is somewhat easier to explain the present spatial distribution of the dulot in Barrio Caticugan. When Lucas Ege first purchased this land, he gave the fields southwest of the present main canal to the farmers who built and maintained a fence at the base of the bluff. This fence was necessary for there were many wild pigs, monkeys, and deer in the hills above. The fence protected he fields of the people living near the hills and those f Ege on the other side of the main canal.

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[47]Part of upper Naga was once planted with rice. How-ver, the cultivation of the land was stopped in the early 930's because it was believed "haunted" by spirits. One armer's three sons and his mother-in-law died of "fever nd headaches" while cultivating the land. Their deaths ere believed to be signs that the spirits who lived there id not wish the land to be farmed. The owner told me hat he was planning to "pray to God" and resume tilling he land, however, he did not farm the land during my resi-ence. While the soil of upper Naga is not the best it is p worse than the paddies of Dangola. There is very little ultivation of Pangligiran hill for the same reason.

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Lucas Ege apparently was a very religious and domineering individual. Since he did not practice the dulot he would not permit his relatives or tenants to hold the ceremony for their fields. Ege's grandson, still living in Barrio Caticugan, said Lucas substituted a novena (nine consecutive evenings of prayer) for the dulot. At the novena's conclusion he invited relatives and friends to a feast. This harvest novena was held in honor of St. Isidro who was selected as the patron saint of the barrio in 1951. Since the land southwest of the main canal had been given to the people who built the fence, Ege did not or could not prevent them from holding dulots in their fields. This is probably one reason why dulots are the most common in the southwest part of Barrio Caticugan.

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However, a more careful study of the dulots' distribution in southwest Barrio Caticugan shows a significant correlation with the location of hillside springs. Many of the barriofolk believe that in or near these springs (particularly places of lush vegetation) live creatures called kolisaos and kataos. The kolisao is a lizard-like creature with a human head and long hair while a katao is a dwarf with blonde hair who delights to play in the canals--and this is the place where canals are most numerous.

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If these creatures are disturbed or hurt, they can cause an individual to fall ill or even die; skin diseases, however, seem to be their speciality. Farmers with fields

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near the vicinity of these springs always run the danger of unintentionally or accidentally annoying kolisaos and kataos. Dulots held in this locality include invitations to these creatures to partake in the food offering. Kolisaos and kataos are invited to attend dulots only when fields are near their supposed places of habitation. More barriofolk in this part of southwestern Barrio Caticugan practice the dulot than their neighbors whose fields are some distance from the springs. Most likely, therefore, the greater retention of the dulot by farmers with fields near these hillside springs has been due to their beliefs in kolisaos and kataos.

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While the ideal pattern requires that a dulot once started should not be abandoned (excluding the exceptions noted) the actual practice is not the same. The dulot is slowly disappearing in Caticugan. The story of how one family in Naga stopped their dulot illustrates the decline of this custom. The sentences in () are questions I asked during the conversation.

> We [husband speaking] stopped our dulot. I was afraid I might make a mistake. What I did was to promise that every first corn harvest I'll sell a little corn, buy some candles, and light them in the church in honor of my dead parents.
>
> When I abandoned my dulot I went around the field saying: 'I am going to stop the dulot because I am ashamed and because I might make mistakes and because it is hard to get all the things needed. The land next to mine is continuing the dulot. You [the unseen spirits] just go there and eat if you want. They will make many sevens, more than five sevens. [This is a reference to the food offering.]

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(If you were afraid that you would make a mistake in holding the dulot, why did not you have some one do it for you?)

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When I had two children [the wife interrupted] a mission came [to the poblacion] and I went to confession. I had a hint from the priest that maybe I was holding superstitious practices. So I thought maybe the priest meant the dulot. I told the priest my in-laws were practicing the dulot. I was advised by the priest to tell my in-laws to stop this superstitious practice. The priest said every year to sell a little of the harvest, buy candles and light them in the church in honor of our dead relatives. So when I came home I told my in-laws. That is why we stopped having the dulot.

That's right [the husband broke in] but it was also difficult to get all the things used in the dulot.

Here are three reasons for stopping the dulot. First, the priest's disapproval of the custom; second, the husband's fear that he might make mistakes during the offering; and third, the difficulty in obtaining the necessary supplies.

Other families in Caticugan have stopped the dulot when they purchased land from an owner who practiced the ceremony. Several cases of this nature were cited and the w owners reported that they had not become ill as many lieved they would. However, if someone had become ill is highly probable that these people would have attrib-ed the sickness to the absence of the dulot and would ve resumed its practice.

In the northern barrios the dulot is a community af-ir while in Caticugan it is a family activity performed in crecy. I was unable to witness a dulot in Caticugan be-use I was not told when they were to be held. Yet I had no ouble participating in a dulot in Lamtoc where I was not

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as well-known. This situation underlines a distinct difference between the dulot as practiced in these two localities.

The people in the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley expect guests to attend their dulots; in fact, there is a certain competition in attracting neighbors to one's dulot. No secrecy is involved. In Caticugan the dulot is a confidential family affair. Neighbors and friends are not invited. Usually they are not told when a dulot is to be held. Often the wife and children of the man holding the dulot do not go to the field or participate in the ceremonies.

Several factors explain the slow disappearance and secrecy of the dulot in Caticugan compared with the more isolated barrios. The changes that have occurred in the dulot reflect similar changes in other aspects of the culture of the barriofolk of Caticugan. The northern barrios continue the older cultural patterns while Caticugan is nearer the battleline of acculturation which is more rapid in the poblacion.

This has been true for several centuries. The Spaniards are more vividly remembered in Caticugan than in Casala-an. The influence of the Catholic and Protestant churches in the poblacion is more effective in Caticugan. It is more convenient for the Caticugan barriofolk to attend services and easier for the church officials to reach their barrio. Occasional missions of the Catholic church, where visiting priests come to marry those who have

been living as common-law couples, to baptize and confess the unbaptized and unconfessed, rarely reach as many people in the more isolated barrios as in Caticugan. At least, in one specific case the mission was partly responsible for abandonment of the dulot by a Naga family.

Children of Caticugan can more readily get a formal education than the children of Casala-an or Apoloy. In these northern communities the parents who wish a complete elementary education for their children must make arrangements to room and board them in the poblacion. For the children of Caticugan school is only a short walk from home. The young people of Caticugan have greater access to newspapers and magazines, to the poblacion reading center, and the radio, than the youngfolk of the northern barrios where illiteracy is prevalent.

The barriofolk, particularly the younger generation, are very sensitive about being called "country hicks" by their more sophisticated poblacion friends. For example, one reason why most young people of Caticugan dislike abaca clothing is that the homewoven material is a symbol of a rustic. To the better educated residents of the poblacion the dulot is a "pagan practice" and most of them have no scruples about ridiculing those who practice it. As a result many of the barriofolk are ashamed of the dulot yet not convinced that it is safe to abandon it. Stories of those who have stopped the dulot without any serious consequences are matched by tales of persons who have fallen ill for the same reason.

Many people of Caticugan continue the corn harvest ceremony of their pre-Spanish ancestors but perform it within the privacy of the family group. I know of families in Caticugan who absolutely denied holding a dulot yet whose neighbors said they did. In the northern barrios there was no embarrassment in discussing the dulot. It was a barrio custom. In Caticugan many barriofolk recognized the dulot as a backward unchristian custom, yet they do not feel entirely secure in discarding it; to discard the dulot means to challenge their beliefs in encantos, kolisaos and katsoe. 243 178 184

The decline of the dulot also reflects the growing individualism so noticeable in Caticugan. The group has been losing the firm control once held over the individual. This change is apparent in the role of the family in courting and marriage customs. The old cooperative labor groups have almost disappeared in Caticugan; with increasing population and subdivision of land through inheritance the fields are often so small that volunteer labor activities are less necessary today. It also has become cheaper to pay for help than to furnish workers with meals. Caticugan is en medias res of a gradual transition from a bartering to a money economy that stimulates the growth of individualism. 571 178 181 184 [476]

The population of Caticugan has expanded considerably over the years, but the yield of the fields appears to have decreased. The acreage yield of corn in the northern barrios is more than twice as large as in Caticugan. An 184 178 243 433

insight into the once greater abundance of food in Caticugan is given from an offering made during the last part of the Spanish period. This offering included one pig, fifteen or twenty chickens (with white feathers), a basketful each of bingka, bodbod, and puto (all varieties of rice cakes), three plates with ten eggs each, and large quantities of tuba. In the past the ritualist who performed the dulot in Naga often received a basketful of corn for his service; none of the ritualists receives this amount today.

Some individuals who stopped the dulot in Caticugan said they did so because "it is too expensive today." The food offering to the spirits was not as costly as feeding the guests. The dulot described in Lamtoc required much corn to make the cakes, beside the other food served. It is possible that since the corn yield in these northern barrios is nearly twice that of Caticugan the community dulot is less of a burden. One reason given for having only a family dulot in Caticugan is that the expense of guests is eliminated. Dulots held for Caticugan's irrigated corn harvests would attract a large number of people since they would occur during a seasonal period of food shortage.

This detailed discussion of the spatial distribution of the dulot in both Caticugan and the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley illustrates how many factors must be considered in explaining change in one custom. There is no "royal road" to a clear understanding

of why the dulot is more widely practiced in the northern barrios or why more people in some parts of Caticugan continue the custom than their neighbors. The study also shows the value of the historical approach for Lucas Ege's personality is still influential in the dulot's distribution in Barrio Caticugan. Yet such an approach does not explain the total situation for pre-Hispanic beliefs in kolisaos and katsos and culture integration encourage many barriofolk to cling to the dulot.

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Other Ceremonies Associated with Corn

Other practices associated with corn in Caticugan are similar to practices among many primitive people for the magical increase of their food. For example, some of the first fresh corn picked or meal ground from the new harvest is placed in a pot with a sprig of busikad (Kyllinga monocephala Roltb). A pinch of dirt from an ant mound, a piece of a broken China plate, and three lagit stones the size of the end of one's thumb are also put in the pot. Lagit stones are hard, heavy and smooth, best found in the river shallows where the water runs noisily, and are said to be "alive," reflecting the animism of the pre-Hispanic Filipinos.[48]

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Some barriofolk omit the busikad and lagit stones but the pinch of dirt and the broken plate are almost

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[48] Boga stones, said to be "dead," are soft, chalky and light.

palm's trunk during the war when acute food shortages existed. Most of the bags and mats made in Cateugan are woven from the buri while the hats worn by the people come from Bohol.

The sale of guhang furnishes many barriofolk with their largest source of cash income. The Siaton poblacion map (Plate XVII)[1] shows the number of stalls selling guhang. The widespread use of the buri to make guhang is shown by the number of dead palms (576) cut in six weeks by the provincial agriculture office in just Siaton poblacion. Many dead buris were left standing at the end of this project. If Siaton's municipal ordinance that requires each owner of a guhang buri to pay a tax of $2.50 was effectively enforced, this local industry would bring a sizeable income to the municipality.

Older informants said when they were young little guhang was made in Siaton since only a few buris grew in the municipality. Some informants stated that the barriofolk of Siaton first learned how to make guhang from the people of Tolong. Once they learned the process they began to plant the palm. Other informants, however, said that Siaton men who worked in Dumaguete's Chinese bodegas (warehouses) learned to make guhang while in the city. When they returned to Siaton they introduced the process, teaching the people of Siaton how to make the mildly alcoholic drink. All available evidence, the possible derivation of Dumaguete's name (from manangueta, a specialist who makes guhang), the older settlement of Dumaguete,

[1] [this plate (p. 178) is missing]

members of the family. Two men with the assistance of the man and his son could have done the job. The meal was prepared by the husband while his wife scoured the barrio for items for the post hole ceremony. (See Chapter VIII.) The palihog started around noon and lasted about two hours, although the job took less than an hour; after finishing the men ate and talked. Later several of their wives and children arrived to eat lunch. 241 476

In part, the decline of the bolhon and palihog is due to the fact that Caticugan's population has increased relatively to cultivated land. Many fields have been subdivided among heirs; thus the fields became smaller and there was less need for cooperative activities. [178]

Post-war inflation discourages the bolhon and palihog. As a young man said: "The palihog costs too much today. It is cheaper to hire people and pay them wages." The rise in wages has been less than the increase in food costs. One can hire a farm worker in Caticugan today for fifty cents and two meals a day; several decades ago the wage for a day's work was about thirty cents. Prices of corn, rice, pig and cattle have more than tripled.

There are some cooperative activities that tradition perpetuates although hired labor could accomplish the job more cheaply. Prestige and social standing may be gained from holding these activities; this factor was not entirely absent in the motivation for the palihog just described. (See Chapter VII.) Most of the barriofolk of Caticugan, however, consider the cost first in getting help in their fields or to repair or construct dwellings. [554]

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that they (1) do not believe in it ("I trust to my luck, my dogs and God"); (2) do not know how to conduct the bood; or (3) are afraid of a mistake that might cause them trouble. One informant from Pinac-an said:

> I do not practice the bood. I just depend on my luck. The reason why I do not practice this bood is because I do not know how the old people do it. And besides I am afraid to try because if one makes a mistake in what he says during the bood all his dogs die.

While many hunters in Caticugan do not hold the bood, the men who hunt most frequently and are noted for skill normally practice the bood. However, the bood appears to be a dying custom in Caticugan, due to disappear within several generations. [[78]]

A bood is held for every wild pig killed, usually after the hunt in a participant's house. An annual bood is held in a secluded spot known only to the participants. One informant in Barrio Caticugan reported:

> The reason why they [the hunters] do it [bood] secretly is because they do not want other hunters to discover their place, even by accident. If their bood place is found by another hunter he will be lucky in his future hunts by feeding his dogs with the food found on the bamboo table used in the offering to the spirits. [Evidently the food is not eaten but remains on the abandoned table.] Dogs that eat this food will become successful in finding wild pig scents and brave in fighting them; they will never be hurt. But if only the dogs, and not the hunter, discover the bood place--or just happen to pass it--the dogs will become tired as if they are sick. This happened to my dogs once. The men who made the bood in the place discovered will become unlucky in their hunts and their dogs will get sick and eventually die. One time I requested Tonio [a hunter in Caticugan] not to mention anything that would make me unlucky or hurt my dogs. Tonio assured me that he was not selfish enough to do that in his bood.

smeared on branches where the birds often light. I doubt if any Caticugan barriofolk trap birds in this manner. 223

Birds are sometimes, but rarely, hunted with the blow-gun (supot) and fairly frequently by young boys with sling-shots (tirador). Lake Linao ("calm"; also called danao, i.e., "pool"), above Barrio Balanan, was created by the 1925 earthquake. This small lake attracts flocks of wild ducks. While Caticugan residents rarely hunt the ducks here men from Dumaguete come to hunt them with guns.

The blow-gun is made from the thornless bamboo, bagakay. This bamboo's long internodes make it excellent for blow-guns. Few blow-guns were seen in Caticugan; the weapon, however, becomes more common in the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley. One blow-gun measured was 6-1/2 feet long, made of several pieces of bagakay glued with a substance obtained from the kiwot insect. The darts (ganasan) are made from thin sticks of bamboo about 2-1/2 feet long, including a 10 inch iron tip; no poison is used. The dart's end is wrapped with kapok to hold compression in the blow-gun barrel. The blow-gun is employed only to hunt wild birds and, more rarely, to shoot river fish.[9] It is my opinion that blow-guns in the Siaton River valley will disappear in a few generations; at least, they seem to have very few useful functions today. 411 [178].

[9]The Magahats also have a blow-gun (sopot) that is made from bagakay bamboo or reeds. The darts also are wrapped with kapok and the main use appears to be for shooting river fish. No poison is used on the darts. Oracion, op. cit., pp. 75-6.

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The Fish Guns

"Fish guns" are another technique for catching fish in river and sea. The smaller variety is known as pana sa isda ("fish bow and arrow") or baslay (said to be the Ilongo term); a larger type is called posil-posil sa isda. English-speaking Filipinos, however, refer to both varieties as "fish guns." The "fish gun" is found in most parts of the Philippines; I have seen them from the upper Chico River (Luzon) to northern Mindanao.

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The "fish gun" is probably a 20th century innovation in the Philippines--an adaptation of the bow and arrow and the sling-shot. Once the people of Catiougan used bows and arrows to shoot fish in the river; in fact, informants say this was their only use. The bow was bamboo, the string twisted abaca twine, and the arrows bamboo tipped with iron points made from discarded umbrella ribs. "With the Spaniards in the old days there was plenty of the umbrella ribs." With the advent of the automobile during the American period came the inner tube. Rubber used to make the "guns" is obtained by bartering food for punctured inner tubes; rubber strips are sold by the Chinese in Siaton poblacion.

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The "fish gun" is usually made of bamboo; sometimes a hole is drilled through the center of a soft piece of wood. (See Plate XXXVIII.)[1] The umbrella rib arrow (agoha) is sharpened at the tip; the other end is notched for insertion of the drawstring. The Posil-posil sa isda normally have a trigger. (See Plate XXXIX.)[2] There are many different types of triggers.

1[See p. 559, cat. 227 or 116 - Analyst]
2[See p. 560, cat. 227 or 116 -- Analyst]

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is not concentrated in Sunday church services or certain holy days. Religion is practiced every day by the barriofolk, be they planting crops, hunting a wild pig, or building equipment for "harvesting" the products of river and sea. There is hardly an agricultural or aquatic activity that is not enmeshed, directly or indirectly, in the basic religious habits of the people.

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This fact makes it difficult to convince rural people of the wisdom of modifying food-producing activities. Acceptance of a new agricultural method may involve more than substitution of new for old techniques. New methods may involve changes in religious concepts. This situation, I think, partially explains the fully documented resistance to modification of their food-producing activities manifested by most barriofolk--a resistance that confuses and annoys many American experts. These persons fail to realize that it is one thing to change a planting or harvesting method and quite another thing to change a religious concept intertwined with the former. A more careful and comprehensive study of the interrelations of religious beliefs with technological activities in the barrios could facilitate to a more realistic program for improving the food-producing activities.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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CHAPTER VIII

THE BARRIO DWELLING

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The dwelling typical of the Cateugan barriofolk, the materials used, household furnishings, methods of construction, and the various associated beliefs and practices with the home are described in this chapter. The materials and style of the typical Philippine rural dwelling have not changed radically for centuries. In the early 17th century one observer wrote: "Their houses are built on four posts; their walls are of bamboo and thatch, and are very small."[1]

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The typical barrio dwelling (balay) in Catieugan is a one- or two-room pile structure from one to five feet above the ground. Walls are of bamboo and nipa palm leaves; the roof is thatched with nipa shingles or cogon grass. Although nails and wire are used, rattan lashing is the usual means of fastening the timbers and shingles. In 1939 Philippine Census states that nearly 69 per cent of the Filipinos lived in "light material" houses; 78 per cent of the inhabitants of Negros Oriental and 70 per cent of the people of Negros Occidental occupied such residences.[2]

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[1] Pedro De Sant Pablo, O.S.F., "Compulsory Service by the Indians," Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XIX, p. 72. This account was written in 1620.

[2] The Yearbook of Philippine Statistics: 1946, pp. 190-1.

tied to the house posts and the pig's trough is usually in the silong. In a few cases the silong was enclosed with a loosely woven bamboo grill. Many houses have small porches, most of them roofed, with bamboo benches; a few potted plants grow on the porch and the corn or rice grinders (galingan) are often kept there. (See Plates LIX and LX.)[1]

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[352 353]

Two types of grinders are made from a grey granite. One is used to grind corn into meal (bugos mais) and the other to make flour rice for rice cakes (binka).[9] Corn or rice kernels are dropped into the hole at the top of the grinder and ground between the teeth of the lower part of the mill. These grinders are gradually disappearing; most barriofolk take their corn (rarely rice) to the kerosene machine mills in the poblacion. I saw one corn grinder abandoned near a residence; the owner said she discarded it because their corn was ground in the poblacion.

412 178● 252

Another device often seen in barrio dwellings is the kagoran that is used to shred coconut. The meat is rubbed against the iron shredder and collected below in a dish. Shredded coconut is mixed with a little water and squeezed by hand to make "coconut milk" used in preparing rice cakes and other foods. (See Plate LXI.)[2]

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[9] The same type of corn grinder is used by the Magahats. Oracion, op. cit., p. 85, Plate 56, illustrates the galingan (as also called by Magahats) for grinding corn. The Magahats evidently do not have the rice grinder used in Cateugan

1 (See p. 661 ff, cat. 412 or 116-- Analyst)
2 (This plate is missing -- Analyst)

new slats installed. A local riddle accurately describes the general appearance of most of the Catiougan dwellings.

Since birth all patches. What is it? A house
(Sukad nabata tapak semina. Unsa man? Balay)

COST OF BUILDING A BARRIO DWELLING

The basic materials used to build a barrio dwelling are obtained in the locality, i.e., bamboo, nipa, house posts, rattan, etc. Wire, nails, and galvanized iron sheets are purchased in poblacion stores or, more frequently, obtained in Dumaguete. The use of wire, nails, iron roofing and cement, for example, in the construction of new dwellings in Catiougan, though still small, is increasing. More families would have purchased these materials during my residence except for highly inflated prices and restricted supplies. This trend toward using materials that are made and normally purchased outside the community (in contrast to going to the mountains to obtain materials) will continue to reduce the bartering that still persists in their basic economy and decrease the barriofolk's self-sufficiency.

In the past, a family who decided to build a new dwelling in Catiougan were assisted by neighbors and friends. Today, however, when an individual constructs a new house it is mainly a family task. If additional labor is needed the builder may hire local carpenters. House construction exemplifies the transitional process--from community cooperation, to family, and gradually to the

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assumption of certain skills by local specialists who are paid a cash wage.

Table XXXVIII[1] illustrates the itemized costs of three different dwellings built in Caticugan in 1951.[10] House C's cost probably comes closer to the cost of the typical Caticugan dwelling than the other two dwellings. This house had two rooms--sala and kitchen--lacked wooden shutters, cement post supports, and little lumber was used. Table XXXIX[1] lists the items and cost of building a poblacion dwelling inhabited by a Siaton municipal official. No bamboo or nipa were used; the cost of the two dwellings illustrate the difference in dwellings between Caticugan barriofolk and Siaton principalia.

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[369]
[565]

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The owner of House C did not hire any carpenters; he held a palihog that cost eight dollars. The work accomplished by palihog assistants could have been done in half a day by two laborers. The palihog, in this case, is an example of how "... the prestige factor inherent in the giving of a feast compensates for the lessened efficiency and the lower return."[11] While precise figures cannot be

[556]

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1[See p.667ff, cat. 435 or 342--Analyst]

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[10]Some men of Caticugan make extra money by working for lumber firms in Dumaguete. For example, a father and son in Barrio Caticugan were hired by one firm to cut first-class timber (salay, gisok, sambulawan, yakal, and amoning) in the mountains a day's walk from their home. They were paid eight cents per board foot with an additional two cents per board foot for bringing the lumber from Pinac-an (where they worked a permit issued to the Dumaguete lumber firm) to the poblacion. Another group of four men in Barrio Caticugan worked four days cutting lumber from felled trees in the nearby mountains; they earned a total of twenty-five dollars, or a daily wage of about one dollar and fifty-five cents. These were the only two groups hired to cut timber in Caticugan.

[11]Melville F. Herskovits, Economic Anthropology: A Study in Comparative Economics. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1952, p. 107.

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House Wall Types

Besides wood there are three types of house walls in Caticugan. Bamboos are pounded until they are quite flat; they are then cut along one side, spread out and lashed or nailed as walling (sasa). A second type of walling, siklat, is a loose basket weave of thin pieces of bamboo. These two types of walls are often built around the kitchen since they are less inflammable than nipa. The most common type of exterior house wall is nilogpit that is made of nipa. (See Plates LXVII and LXVIII.)[1] The vertical patobo (Plate LXVII, 7) have slits in their sides into which thin pieces of bamboo (logpit) are inserted. Nipa leaves are placed between the logpits and then tied to the liligans. Sometimes wire is used to lash the liligans and nipa instead of rattan.

The next step is to install the partitions (salud) if the dwelling is to be divided into rooms. The earth hearth is built and the altar (artal) constructed. A shelf (pantaran), that often extends outward from the kitchen wall, is made for the large clay water jar. A bamboo ladder is built to climb to the doorway.

Barriofolk said some changes in their dwellings have occurred since the "old days." In the past the roof was steeper, there was no porch or balcony, nor wooden shutters that slide in grooves. Bamboo floor slats were never nailed but always tied with rattan and no cement, wire, or bolts were used. As for furnishing there were no clay pot rests (hornos), mirrors, chairs or chinaware;

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[1 See p. 687 4. cat. 342 or 335 -- Analyst]

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basins were made of wood instead of the tin ones used today. No one had Coleman lanterns for light.

HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

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When a new dwelling is finished it is customary to hold a novena to bless the house and its occupants; during the ninth (and last) evening of the novena a taktak ug bokbok occurs. When the prayers are over, the guests jump up and down on the floor "to make the destructive bokbok beetles fall to the ground." Some smoke rattan lashings with the sap of the salngan tree or soot from a lamp as a termite preventative.

No taktak ug bokbok was held during my visit; the dwelling must be completed. In Talo-ot, for example, one family had been living in their house for more than a year but the kitchen was unfinished. The "house warming" was not held "because our house is not finished. We must wait."[24]

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If visitors sleep in a dwelling the first night it is occupied they must continue to sleep in the house for

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[24]A story is reported from Guindulman, Bohol, of the young married couple who moved into a new dwelling. The husband's mother-in-law advised them to eat meagerly the first three days in their new house. Only four bananas were to be cooked and eaten, one each for the husband, wife, maid and the last banana to be put in the cupboard. "'The ordeal is called a lihi,' Pemyong the husband explained. 'It sets a sort of pattern for frugal living. The limited meal of one banana and one pata [a salted black fish caught in the river] would remind us to economize always. The extra banana represents our savings which will accumulate through the years and make us rich.'" Joan Fernandez, "How to Get Rich," The Philippines Free Press, XLIII, No. 36 (September 6, 1952), pp. 22-3. This custom is unknown in Caticugan.

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CHAPTER X

BARRIO HANDICRAFTS

INTRODUCTION

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In pre-Hispanic times Filipinos imported porcelains, copper, iron, silk and other textiles; handicrafts played a smaller role in the country's economy in comparison with other Asian nations. The contemporary curio and handicraft industry of the archipelago is of fairly recent origin. The Spaniards did little to stimulate the development of handicrafts; the American period saw the introduction of machines and other facilities that often discouraged traditional handicrafts.[1] Since the last war the Philippine Government has tried to stimulate barrio ~~handicrafts, often with~~ the assistance of United Nations' specialized agencies and the United States. Caticugan illustrates the decline of handicrafts in southern Negros and some problems that need be faced if local industries are to thrive.

Increasing dependence for their pottery, clothing, fishing equipment and other household and personal equipment, on poblacion stores and Dumaguete City is characteristic of the district studied. Nearly all cooking

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[1] Spencer states, however, that "... the American period also has stimulated the development of regional specialities that perhaps more than offsets the elimination of particular products." Spencer, op. cit., p. 14.

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Nearly all cooking pottery is purchased; most of it is made in Dumaguete for none of the local womenfolk make their own pottery. In the near vicinity of Caticugan only one woman regularly made pottery that she bartered for food. Weaving of fine fabrics from banana fibers has ceased completely in the barrio; the weaving of abaca cloth is rapidly declining, though a few women still weave abaca for skirts, men's shirts, and a few other purposes. Abaca clothing, however, is quite unpopular with the younger generation and the barriofolk's style of dress is being changed by the post-war traffic in used American clothing.

Few baskets are made today in Caticugan. The winnowing basket that is used daily is normally purchased in the poblacion or in Dumaguete. I never saw a woman making such a basket, though several Naga women were said to weave them. Tin basins have taken the place of wooden basins and metal spoons and forks are rapidly replacing those made of coconut shell. The most widespread handicraft in Caticugan is the weaving of sleeping mats and bags from buri fronds; this handicraft appears to be threatened by a decrease in palms.

The decline of barrio handicrafts has been recognized by the Philippine government. School programs attempt to perpetuate and revive certain handicrafts; however, the school programs I observed do not promise to be very successful. Advice on the development or modernization of cottage industries has been given by American experts as one means of reducing the chronic

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underemployment of the barriofolk.[2] Most of these cottage industries aim at producing export handicrafts or luxury items. Perhaps most important is the changing attitudes of the barriofolk toward their own handicrafts. Abaca clothing is felt, by many young folk, to be a symbol of a rustic. The barriofolk claim that they can buy better and cheaper pottery than they can make. With the expanding role of money in the general economy, fewer people make handicrafts for bartering. As a result, in Caticugan, the younger generation, particularly women, grows up without training in basic handicrafts of their forefathers, and with an attitude that such training is neither desirable nor important.

This chapter deals with the following handicrafts that still exist in Caticugan and vicinity: (1) pottery; (2) buri weaving and basketry; (3) abaca weaving; and (4) woodwork, i.e., making wooden saddles and carved wooden bolo handles.

POTTERY

There are an estimated 20,000 potters in the Philippines. Much of the work is done by women who sit beneath

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[2] Recently a crafts team was sent to the Philippines under the auspices of the Economic Cooperation Administration and the United Nations. It consisted of a furniture designer, a wood products designer, and a textile expert, Marianne Hammarstrom. The unpublished Hammarstrom report has been briefly, and somewhat inaccurately, summarized by Will Savoy, "Philippine Weavers Learn New Techniques," Department of State Field Reporter, I, No. 2 (September-October, 1952), pp. 13-4. I was able to secure a typescript copy of the original report.

their houses and beat out clay which the men have prepared."[3] Pots are made of red alluvial clays, often mixed with sand; after drying in the sun they are stacked and fired. Firing techniques differ slightly throughout the archipelago. With the exception of a few Chinese potters, kilns are not used; only a few use the potter's wheel, and still fewer use glazes.

No pottery is made today by the barriofolk of Caticugan. The rice cooking pot (kolon) that always had a large sale is being replaced by the aluminum pot and frying pan. In parts of the archipelago the kerosene stove is replacing the clay cooking stove (horno), although this is not the case in Caticugan. (See Plate LXIX.) Only

PLATE LXIX

HORNO
scale: 1/8" : 1"

one woman in Barrio Datag regularly made pots during the dry season; she did not make them during the rainy season

[3] Mary K. Risley, The Ceramic Industry in the Philippines. United Nations Publications Sale Number: 1954.II.H.5., ST/TAA/K/Philippines/4/January 20, 1954, p. 5.

owing to firing difficulties. Most of my material on techniques of pottery was obtained from this cooperative Datag potter. 323 178

Most clay cooking pots now used in Caticugan are made in Dumaguete city. In this city there is a district, Daro, that specializes in the manufacture of cooking pots, clay stoves and large waterjars for drinking purpose. Some pots sold in Siaton poblacion are made in Mayabon, Zamboanguita, but are regarded as inferior to Daro's products. Mayabon is situated in a small enclave of Dauin clay that may explain the small pottery industry. (See Plate X, page 64.) A family came to Siaton from Daro in 1951 and started to make clay pots for sale in the poblacion; the business did not succeed and after several months they left. 323 369 438 [134]

The decline of pottery in Caticugan and environs is due largely to improvement of transportation facilities in southern Negros. The superior clay wares of Dumaguete became easier to buy in Siaton poblacion. Better transportation facilities increased both the number and frequency of visits to the city. The pots became so cheap that the barriofolk preferred to buy rather than make them. One old woman of Caticugan explained: "I stopped making pots because it is hard work. I would get sick always having my hands in the cold clay, squeezing it. And they are very cheap to buy." 323 369 438 178 489

As older women ceased their pottery activities, their daughters were not taught the technique. With a 323 [868] 178

gradual increase of money circulating in the barrios over the years, funds were available for the purchase of pots Another reason that may have had some influence on the decline of pottery in this locality was the Japanese occupation of Negros. A number of women who before the war made pots to barter during the harvest, stopped because of their fear of meeting Japanese patrols; they never resumed this activity after liberation.

Four popular sizes of clay cooking pots are sold in Siaton poblacion; Table XLI indicates their capacity and cost.

TABLE XLI

CLAY COOKING POTS SOLD IN SIATON POBLACION

Capacity (pounds of clean rice)	Cost (U. S.)
1.5	5¢
2.25	8¢
4.5	10¢
10.0	15¢

Pots holding as much as 25 pounds of clean rice are made in Daro but they are rarely sold in Siaton. The local merchants will not risk bringing these large, expensive, and rather fragile pots from Dumaguete since breakage would mean a considerable loss. Larger pots are used when one cooks for a fiesta or wedding feast. Today, however, the 5-gallon kerosene can is replacing this large size pot. The smallest clay pots are called anlet in Siaton and anglet in Masbate Island.

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When the fronds are dry the stiff mid-rib is stripped from each individual leaf. The leaves then are smoothed by running them over the back of a knife or seashell. Buri leaves are cut into fairly regular widths by use of a rattan guide (bataean). (See Plate LXXI.)[1] The bataean is hooked around a leaf and a small knife inserted just above the notch facing the worker; it penetrates the leaf to a second notch on the back of the bataean. By moving the bataean and the knife down the leaf together an even strip is cut. Buri strips, ready for weaving, are called lila.

After a sufficient supply of lilas is prepared, the plaiting of the bag or mat is begun. The only type of plaiting used is illustrated in Plate LXX. Strands used to plait mats and baskets are fairly broad and flat, producing a checkerboard type of design; actually little can be done in plaiting such strands except to pass them alternately over and under. Sleeping mats, unlike bags, are usually plaited with a double thickness. Only one woman in Caticugan made any attempt to decorate her buri bags. The sibokao tree's heartwood makes a brown dye; sometimes, though rarely, she used tanbark as a dye "because I do not have to buy the sibokao to make a dye." She dyed a few buri strips, plaiting them into the bag, making a simple geometric design. Plate LXX, C, illustrates the design made in some placemats she plaited for me.

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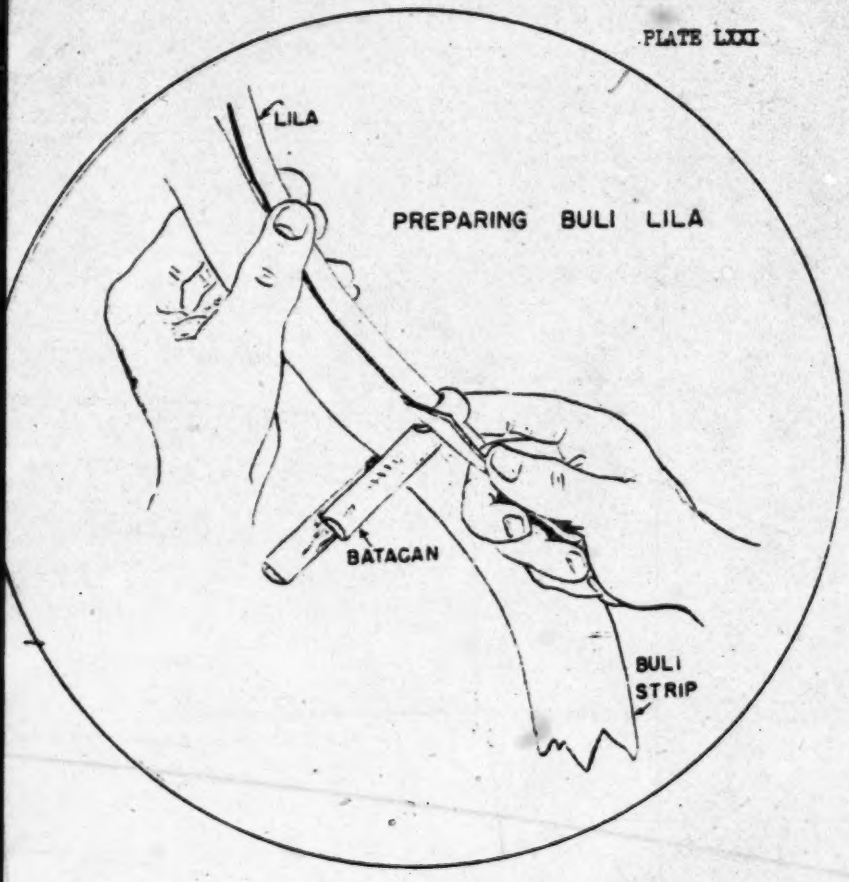
The decreasing number of buri palms in the vicinity of Caticugan may pose a problem for the barriofolk in the

1 [See p. 705, Cat. 285 -- Analyst]

PLATE LXXI



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not-too-distant future. Since the palm is usually killed to make suhang before it flowers, the reproductive cycle of the tree is disturbed. Most people agree that there were more buri palms a decade ago than today. If the palms become scarce the people will have a difficult time finding an adequate substitute for buri. However, this potential problem (I may exaggerate it) does not seem to worry the

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barriofolk. Possibly the developing jute industry of the Philippines will replace buri plaiting in the future.

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BARRIO BASKETS

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Three major types of baskets used by the barriofolk of Caticugan are: (1) the harvest basket, bukag; (2) the winnowing basket, niggo or ayagang; (3) and the shallow kalalaw used in abaca weaving. Several other types of baskets were made by schoolchildren in the poblacion but never used in the barrio; they are taught to make small bags and baskets that can be sold as curios. Basket-making is said to be predominately a woman's job, although some men make bukags. Baskets were made so rarely in Caticugan that I never saw any of these three types being plaited.

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The bukag, previously mentioned in connection with the corn harvests, is a loosely plaited basket of thin strips of bamboo and rattan about 2 feet in height with an 18-inch opening. The bukag is roughly made and does not take much time to plait. This type of basket, to my knowledge, is always made by the barriofolk; I never saw any for sale in either the poblacion or Dumaguete. They are used, almost entirely, to carry unhusked corn from the fields to the house or storehouse.

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The wide shallow basket used for winnowing the chaff from pounded rice or ground corn is called the niggo or ayagang. This basket also is plaited from rattan and thin pieces of bamboo. An increasing number of them are

P-CB 286 101

regions); and (3) the Visayas, i.e., Panay, Bohol and Cebu islands. While weaving is done in other parts of the archipelago, these three areas contain the majority of weavers and produce most of the woven fabrics of the Philippines. After the last war the weaving industry in the Philippines was rapidly declining due to the destruction of looms during the occupation, high costs of materials, influx of inexpensive cotton material from abroad, and obsolete designs, and inconsistencies in size and quality of locally produced fabrics.[9]

P 178 288

CB 286 [101]

Caticugan (and Negros Island) is not representative of any one of these three major Philippine weaving areas. Only a few older women weave abaca cloth in Caticugan.[10] There were ten looms in Caticugan (two were broken)--or about one loom to every twelve families. Not all of these looms were used in 1951. I estimate that of the eight workable looms only four or five were used, at one time or another, during my residence; no loom was in constant use by its owner during this year. The probable disappearance of weaving in Caticugan in the future encouraged me to spend more time in studying the technique than would have been merited by its importance in the community's economy.

CB [178 121]

The barrio loom (halablan) is made of bamboo except for the wooden beam and cloth rollers (likisan) and base

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[9] Lysbeth Wallace, Hand-Weaving in the Philippines. United Nations Publication, Sales Number: 1954.II.H.3., ST/TAA/K/Philippines/3, December 21, 1953, p. 2.

[10] Abaca is better known as Manila hemp (Musa textilis). Bark cloth is not made by the barriofolk of Caticugan, although cloth from the bark of the talobang tree is made by the Magahats. Oracion, op. cit., pp. 31-2.

supports. (See Plate LXXII, 4 and 22.)[1] Unlike the looms in Ilocos that are built underneath the house, using the upright beams supporting the dwelling for part of the loom structure, Caticugan looms are kept inside the dwelling. The loom is a Malayan horizontal type with two foot treadles that manipulate two cord heddles for speedy intercalation of the spool shuttle.[11] The weaving product is a coarsely-woven stiff fabric called abaca (Cebuano: binabol).

Nearly all women who wove abaca said they learned the technique from their mothers; one informant said she was taught by her father who had learned from his mother. A few men were said to weave, although no men living in Caticugan did so.

Stripping the fibers from the abaca plant and building the loom are a man's work, whereas the processing of the fiber, weaving and the final preparation of the cloth are a woman's work. Several older women in Caticugan were able to weave when they were in their early teens. There was one abandoned loom in Caticugan that the owner said was smaller than the normal loom; it had been used by a mother to teach the girl to weave. Normally, however a girl learns to weave on the regular-size loom.

No abaca is grown in Caticugan so the fibers must be purchased from abaca-growing communities. This may be a minor factor in the decline of weaving in Caticugan.

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[11] On this matter see the articles by H. Ling Roth, "Studies in Primitive Looms, Part III: 6. Indonesian Looms," The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, XLVII, 1917, pp. 323-66.

1 [See p.710, cat. 286 -- Analyst]

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[437]

Most abaca used for weaving is bought in the northern barrios of Bantolinao and Nasig-id. Several woman were furnished abaca by the owner who later received one-half of the cloth.

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Fiber to be woven must be stripped from the abaca plant with special care; for example, no pulp should remain on the fiber. Often growers who sell abaca to the Chinese in Siaton poblacion purposely leave pulp on the fibers so the bundles will weigh more.

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[609]

Dyes

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Three vegetable dyes, tagun, taloto, and antipolo, were once used to dye colored weft thread for abaca cloth. Tagun (Indigofera suffruticosa Mill) grows wild in the nearby hills; once in the past it was cultivated as a source of black dye. Domesticated tagun, according to the barriofolk, made a better dye than the wild variety. Water was heated and tagun leaves were added; a little lime was then sprinkled into this mixture and care taken lest the water boil. "If the water boiled," one woman explained, "the dye was not any good because the leaves became tender right away." Bark of the taloto and antipolo trees was powdered to make a red dye. Red fibers were sometimes re-dyed with tagun "so they would be reddish and very shiny." Today these vegetable dyes are rarely, if ever, used. Weavers buy chemical dyes in the poblacion; a package of four different dyes costs ten cents.

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Before the last war, less frequently at present, colored cotton thread was purchased in the poblacion to weave the weft stripes into the fabric. Today, however, cotton thread is so expensive that most weavers dye abaca fibers to give the finished fabric a colored stripe. Red and blue are the favorite colors used in abaca weaving with black a poor third. Designs are alternate weft stripes of color with the natural abaca thread of the warp.

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There are four basic processes in preparing the warp for weaving. First, tog-ot, the sorting of various sizes of thread from the hanks of abaca. Second, bonos, tieing together the same size threads into one continuous thread. Third, han-ay, hand warping in preparation for loading the loom. Fourth, samod, the installation of the warp on the beam and cloth rollers. The following paragraphs describe these four processes in some detail.[12]

Tog-ot: Sizing The Abaca

After the fiber is obtained by the weaver it is put in a rice mortar and pounded "just like rice"; this process makes the thread (lanot) softer and more pliable.

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[12] Paglala is the infinitive "to weave" buri bags and mats--for all types of weaving except abaca. The infinitive for weaving abaca is paghabol. Abaca cloth is called hinabol whereas a weaver is called maghahabol. I was not able to observe all of these four processes while in Caticugan. Several times, much to my disappointment, I would arrive at a dwelling a few hours after the woman had finished han-ay or sambod. In preparing my notes on weaving, I found considerable gaps in my information that I was able to fill, in part, through correspondence with my assistant in Siaton, requesting answers to a list of written questions.

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the leaves, a bowl was rolled over the pulp to free the fibers. Sab-a and San Pablo banana stalks were cut and permitted to dry for four days before decortication; the stalks had to dry or the fibers were too brittle to weave.

Sab-a, San Pablo and lawisid made a fine, silk-like fabric that was said to be "very shiny." Three sizes of threads were obtained from these plants; okyot, the largest size thread, magamays and palid, the smallest type. The loom used to weave these fibers had three heddles and treadles "so the cloth woven would be like cotton made by a machine"; otherwise, the loom was the same type used today. Weaving of the banana or lawisid fibers on a three-treadle loom was called hiringue.

The few women in Caticugan who remembered (or did) hiringue said little weaving was done during the hot season because the fine threads became dry and brittle; the best time to weave was during the rainy season. Fabric woven from the fibers of the sab-a, San Pablo and lawisid was not soaked in lime water but dampened and wound around a banana stalk. When the dry fabric was ironed it had a high gloss. No one weaves hiringue today in Caticugan; one of the most expert weavers of the barrio explained that "it takes too much time."

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This fifty-five year old woman, a resident of Naga and a noted weaver when young, said she once wove saba-a fabric with a flower design.

> There were many people who came to see me work because a man from the poblacion saw my weaving and told them that I was weaving wonderful things. So the poblacion people came. Some said: 'Oh, this is

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very nice.' But I said, 'buyag' as a precaution against an osikan. Some of the people wanted to buy the cloth. There were only two of us who wove very well in those days.[19]

From this weaver's account, it is evident that weaving fine fabrics from various banana fibers was nearly extinct twenty or thirty years ago. In "the old days," this weaver said, fabric woven by the hiringue technique sold for about thirty cents a yard. [435

The gradual disappearance of hiringue-woven fabrics was partly due to low prices; families stopped growing lawisid when the fiber's price fell. One woman's family planted lawisid several decades ago.

Sometimes I could not weave all the lawisid into cloth so we stripped and sold the fibers to the Chinese in the poblacion. From fifteen stalks of lawisid we once made $12. Six months later we stripped new plants that grew from the old ones and made $7. We finally stopped growing lawisid, however, because the price fell very low.

Woven fabrics were once bartered for food or labor. "When we had plenty of abaca cloth and my father had much work to be done," one informant explained, "we paid the workers with cloth." [437

Future of Weaving in Caticugan

A number of factors explain why little weaving is done today in Caticugan. One may predict the complete disappearance of abaca weaving for clothing fabric if these factors continue. First, the high prices of fibers [435]

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[19] An osikan is a person with an "evil eye," a Spanish importation from Europe to the Philippines. By complimenting a person an osikan is believed able to cause the victim to become ill; a protection against such a spell is to reverse the compliment by saying "buyag."

discouraged most women who know how to weave. Since no abaca is grown near Caticugan, it is necessary to make a long, tiring trip to the mountain seingins of the north. Weavers of Caticugan probably would have woven more if abaca had been cheaper and easier to obtain.

Second, abaca fabric is stiff and scratchy; soaking and pounding the material helps but it remains uncomfortable to wear. Third, the younger generation, for the most part, is prejudiced against abaca clothing that they regard as a symbol of rusticity. This attitude, with improved educational facilities and increased contacts with Dumaguete, may not be expected to decline. Most young people said they were ashamed to wear abaca clothing to church or to festive events such as the fiesta. As one informant explained:

> Some people will tease you if you wear abaca clothing. 'Why are you wearing abaca? You look like the old people in the ancient times'--this is what they may say.

Only the children of the poor wore abaca clothing to school in Siaton poblacion.

With the decline in the number of Caticugan weavers, young girls are not being taught to weave. I never saw a young woman weaving in the barrio; the weavers were always older women. Some young people said they did not wear abaca clothing because no one in their family could weave. Mothers explained their daughters were not interested in learning to weave for they preferred to wear clothing purchased in the poblacion stores. In the past a mature woman

who could weave skillfully was a more desirable mate than one who could not. Difficulties of obtaining abaca fiber, the cost, and the tedious and time-consuming processes of preparing thread, weaving, and processing the woven fabric--plus the growing satorial sophistication of the young generation--militate against weaving in Caticugan.

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The most recent event that probably has dealt the coup de grace to any increase of abaca weaving for clothing in the future is the sale of used American clothing; the barriofolk speak of this as "relief clothing." After the last war tons of used American clothing were sent to the islands for rehabilitation purposes. Some of the clothing was sold illegally to the people and a new post-war Philippine business was born. Today used American clothing is imported regularly to the Philippines with Cebu City as a distribution center for the Visayas. Agents go to the city to buy the clothing that they later sell in rural areas through Negros.

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Every Sunday in Siaton poblacion Dumaguete vendors came to sell used American cotton and silk dresses, blouses, and children's clothing. At every fiesta I attended there were vendors who had big piles of used American clothing through which the barriofolk hunted for correct sizes. My impression was that most of the clothing was for women or children. As a result a new source of inexpensive clothing competes with abaca garments--and is modifying the barriofolks' mode of dress. T-shirts are replacing the abaca shirt of the past as cotton trousers have already done.

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20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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In Caticugan, those who weave abaca wear it the most. Many older women still wear old style abaca wrap-around skirts (patadyong) and blouses. Older men usually wear cotton trousers but often abaca shirts. The technical assistance of cottage specialists from the United States is mainly directed toward teaching Philippine weavers to produce materials that can be used for homefurnishings, industrial purposes, or export. One American weaving expert, sent to the Philippines to offer advice in modernizing cottage industries, writes:

> I am doubtful that abaca for clothing will ever be revived again. It is slow and cumbersome to weave, and with the present minimum wage law a must, it is almost prohibitive in cost. This minimum wage law, though wonderful in principle, is still making the introduction of new fabrics somewhat difficult, as it imposes a high outlay of money during the time of education, prior to production.[20]

The use of abaca for fish nets will decrease rapidly once cheaper twine nets become easier to obtain. There may be significant increase in weaving products from the major weaving areas of the Philippines but the production will be aimed largely toward such uses as fabrics for upholstery in automobiles, place mats, drapery, bedspreads, etc. Weaving in Caticugan as a handicraft probably is beyond resuscitation.

WOODEN SADDLES

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Horses in Siaton are more numerous than is typical of most Philippine municipalities. Some ride bareback but

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[20] A personal letter to the writer from Mrs. Hammarstrom, November 17, 1952.

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The barriofolk are quite unaware of the possibility that their Garuda-like carved bolo handles may symbolize Hindu influence in their cultural heritage. It is curious that only bolo handles are selected; none of the other weapons or personal equipment is carved for decorative purposes. Perhaps the explanation lies in the importance attached to a man's bolo in pre-Hispanic Philippines.

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Various household articles are made by the barriofolk of Caticugan. Long pieces of bamboo are hollowed and used to carry water from the springs and river to the houses. Spoons and dippers of coconut shell are fixed with rattan to bamboo handles. A few young men made ukeleles from local woods, buying only the gut strings. I never saw parents make toys for their children.

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SUMMARY

The meager barrio handicrafts in Caticugan are in a state of decline. Abaca cloth is woven less frequently than in the immediate past and certain types of weaving and fabrics have disappeared. Most barriofolk consider abaca a poor substitute for cotton garments; imported used American clothing is changing the people's mode of dress. Self-sufficiency of the barriofolk in pottery has been lost; today nearly all of them depend on pottery wares produced in Dumaguete. Bamboo drinking cups, plates and eating

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[23] Benitez, op. cit., pp. 21-2.

[24] Oracion, op. cit., p. 40.

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utensils (still used by the Magahats) have been replaced with glass- and tinware. However, in all of these examples the new products are functionally superior to those formerly made.

In each case the handicraft products have been replaced by items made outside the local community. Most cotton cloth, tinware, etc., sold in the Philippines (and Caticugan) are imported. Pottery comes largely from Dumaguete. With the development of the infant Philippine jute industry it is possible that buri weaving will decline. Gunny sacks make better bags than does buri.

These various changes have led to a diminution of the former independence and self-sufficiency of Caticugan's rural community. This trend has been described in other aspects of barrio life, fishing, agriculture, etc. The material products of the city are reaching the barrio as well as new attitudes and modified appreciations from the city folk.

In my opinion, only inexcusable sentimentality laments the passing of handicrafts that use obsolete equipment and time-consuming techniques to make inferior products. The barriofolk of Caticugan are enmeshed in the Machine Age; this is inevitable, desirable and long-delayed. Their growing dependence on the urban machine economy will not be reduced by revival of cumbersome, unproductive handicrafts. For revival or stimulation of weaving and pottery in Caticugan, for example, necessitates more than improved equipment and better designs. The pride and sense of achievement

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

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in handicrafts, an attitude usually transmitted by craftsmen to their children, have largely disappeared. Often inferior articles made in the United States are preferred to Philippine-made articles, even when the latter are of better materials and more careful workmanship. The most promising long-range program needed to raise barrio living standards is to increase the productivity of their major activity--more and better farmed land with more abundant harvests.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA 1<

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Catholicism has been reinterpreted through retention of pre-Hispanic beliefs. Agricultural methods and extension activities are primitive, illustrating why Philippine crop production and rural living standards are so low.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

Tenth, in the larger barrio

527 and *poblacion* the fiesta has a definite political function, especially in furnishing politicians with opportunities for making speeches, mending political "fences," and encouraging the officialdom of the local and provincial governments. *Eleventh*, the fiesta is one means of introducing into small *barrios* some of the techniques of democracy, of working together with one's neighbors in committees, and making a profit which is used to improve social or cultural conditions in the community. The printed fiesta programs have an educational function with their short, if not too critical, histories of the local region, listing all the provincial and municipal officials etc.

527 525 After *kahologan* there may be a few dances, a "Barn Dance," a "Fashion Show," but the fiesta spirit is gone. The gambling activities may continue for several days after the end of the fiesta, but with less fervor. In the *barrios*, for the most part , the normal routine takes over after *kahologan*. Lechon pits are filled. The bamboo arches slowly succumb to the elements or to fence-building scavengers. The professional gamblers depart with their tables and games for another fiesta. The gay window curtains, doilies, and tablecloths are packed away in the family trunk until next year. The *barrio* chapel decorations wilt and gather dust. For a while the barriofolk speak of *liwas piyesta* ("after the fiesta") in dating events in time. Soon the fiesta becomes only a pleasant memory. Before this memory has faded completely, preparations are afoot for the next fiesta. [178] Nearly every *barrio* and *poblacion* has an innate consistent "strain" toward making the next fiesta "more modern," or "progressive." This may mean a better orchestra, maybe electric lights for the first time, a bigger beauty contest, a more important speaker, a printed instead of typed fiesta program, or a larger statue of their patron saint.

Few Americans who have attended a Philippine fiesta forget the gay event or the warm friendship and spontaneous hospitality of their hosts. It is the writer's hope that this tentative sketching of the rural Philippine fiesta complex may interest Filipinos in making a more detailed study of one of the unique aspects of their culture.[11]

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[11] The author would be most grateful for any critical comments on this article from Filipino readers of the *Silliman Journal*. All letters received will be carefully read and promptly answered.